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*Appendix to the two preceding papers :—On the probable Site of the Uxian city besieged by Alexander the Great on his way from Persis to Susa.*

ON re-perusing Quintus Curtius's description of the march of Alexander the Great from Susa to Persepolis, I am struck with the resemblance which the description of the situation of the town of the Uxians, besieged by the Macedonian conqueror, bears to the vicinity of the caves of Shikoftehi-Suleimán, in the country of the Bakhtiýári. The country of the Uxii lay between Susiana and Persis; E. of the Pasitigris (the Kuren), and W. of the Oroatis (the Ab-Shirin).<sup>\*</sup> The southern part of this district is a flat plain, the northern a mountainous region.

The town of the Uxians was situated in a hilly country—consequently we must look for it in a northern direction. We learn from Quintus Curtius the number of days Alexander took to reach the left bank of the Pasitigris from Susa; but none of his historians mentions how many days more were requisite to reach the town of the Uxii. In the absence of such information, perhaps the safest plan is to examine whether any part of the country answers the description ancient authors give of the situation of this town, and whether any ruins exist on that spot. Both these conditions are fulfilled on the plain of Mál-Amír.

I shall, in the first place, quote the passage in Curtius, in which the situation of the town of the Uxii is indicated :—" Individuals," says Curtius, "of local knowledge apprized Alexander that there was a by-track through the defiles, leading to the back of the city, where a small light-armed detachment might climb an eminence commanding the enemy. This counsel approved, and those who had imparted it selected as guides, the king directed Tauron, with 1500 mercenaries and about a thousand Agrians, to penetrate in that direction after sunset. Alexander, on his part, broke up the camp at the third watch, and at day-break *had passed the straits*. Having cut materials for hurdles and rolling frames to cover those who should advance the engines, he began to besiege the town. *All around, crags, rocks, and precipices obstructed access.* . . . The soldiers, therefore, wounded in numbers, were repulsed, for they had to conflict not only with their enemy, but with the place. Again they moved up—rallied by Alexander, who stood among the foremost :—" Are you not ashamed, having conquered so many fortified cities, to waver in the siege of a small obscure castle ?" The king was now attacked with missiles; he could not be induced to withdraw, and the soldiers

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<sup>\*</sup> See Arrian, b. iii., c. xvii.; and Pliny, translated by Sivray, tom. ii., liv. vi., ch. xxvii., p. 805.

formed a tortoise with their bucklers to protect him. At length Tauron appeared with the detachment above the fort. This display caused the enemy to droop, and the Macedonians to fight with augmented vigour. The inhabitants of the town were pressed by two divisions, of which the assault was *irresistible*; many were solicitous to fly, a great number escaped *into the fort*. Hence they sent out deputies to Alexander to implore quarter."

Further on the author adds: "Messengers were likewise sent to Sisymbis to solicit her intercession with Alexander in behalf of the inhabitants, and Alexander granted not only amnesty to Madates, but liberty and immunity both to the captives and the inhabitants surrendering: *the city he left untouched*, and the inhabitants permitted to cultivate their lands tax-free."\* Arrian's account of the siege may also be referred to with advantage. I quote from Chaussard's translation:—

"Alexandre part de Suse avec son armée, passe le Pasitigre, et entre dans le pays des Uxiens, &c. . . . Il prend avec lui ses gardes, les Hypaspistes et huit mille hommes du reste de l'armée, et se dirigeant de nuit par un *chemin détourné* ayant pour guides des Susiens, il franchit en une marche des défilés inaccessibles, *pénètre dans un bourg des Uxiens*, les surprend, plusieurs sont tués dans leurs lits, les autres se dispersent dans les montagnes; le vainqueur fait un butin considérable. Il marche précipitamment vers les gorges où il avait donné rendez-vous aux Uxiens

\* See Pratt's Q. Curtius. The passage here quoted occurs in the third chapter of the fifth book. The original is as follows:—"Sed periti locorum Alexandrum docent, *occultum iter esse per calles, et aversum ab urbe, si paucos misisset leviter armatos, super capita hostium evasuros*. Cum consilium placuisset, iidem iterum fuerunt duces, M et D mercede conducti, et Agriani fere M Tauroni præfecto dati, ac post *solis occasum iter ingredi* jussi. Ipse tertia vigilia castris motis circa lucis ortum superaverat angustias, cæsaque materia cratibus et pluteis faciendis, ut qui turres admoverent, extra teli ictum essent, urbem obsidere cœpit. Prærupta erant omnia, saxis et cotibus impedita, multis ergo vulneribus depulsi, ut quibus non cum hoste solum, sed etiam cum loco dimicandum esset, subibant tamen: quia rex inter primos constiterat, interrogans tot urbiū victores; *an erubescerent hære in obsidione castelli exigui et ignobilis?* Simul jam inter hæc eminus petebatur; quum testudine objecta milites, qui ut inde discederet, percellere nequiverant, tuebantur. Tandem Tauron super arcem urbis se cum suo agmine ostendit: ad cujus conspectum et animi hostium labare; et Macedones acrius prælium inire cœperunt. Anceps oppidanos malum urgebat; nec sisti vis hostium poterat. Paucis ad moriendum; pluribus ad fugam animus fuit: magna pars in arcem concessit. Inde xxx oratoribus missis ad deprecandum, triste responsum à rege redditur; *non esse veniæ locum*. Itaque suppliciorum metu perculsi, ad Sisymbim, Darii matrem, occulto itinere, ignotoque hostibus, mittunt, qui peterent, *ut ipsa regem mitigaret*: haud ignari, parentis eam loco diligere colique, et Madates sororis filiam secum matrimonio junxerat: Dariū propinqua cognatione contingens. Diu Sisymbis supplicum precibus repugnavit, abnuens, *deprecationem pro illis convenire fortunæ, in qua esset: adjectique, metueret sese, ne victoris indulgentiam fatigaret, sæpius cogitare, captivam esse se, quam reginam fuisse*. Ad ultimum victa, literis Alexandrum ita deprecata est; *ut ipsam excusaret quod deprecaretur, petere se, ut illis quoque; si minus, sibi ignosceret, pro necessario ac propinquo suo; jam non hoste; sed supplice tantum vitam precari*. Moderationem clementiamque regis, quæ tunc fuit, vel una hæc res possit ostendere, non Madati modo ignovit; sed omnes, et deditos, et captivos libertate atque immunitate donavit: urbem reliquit intactam: agros sine tributo colere permisit."—pp. 335–7.

pour recevoir le tribut. *Cratérus*, qu'il a détaché en avant (*Curtius* mentions *Tauron*), a dû occuper les hauteurs pour fermer la retraite à l'ennemi; lui-même il double le pas, s'empare des défilés, range ses troupes, et fond sur les barbares avec tout l'avantage du lieu. Consternés de la rapidité d'Alexandre, privés du poste sur lequel ils comptaient, les barbares fuyent sans en venir aux mains. Une grande partie périt sous le fer des Macédoniens qui les poursuivaient; une autre dans les précipices; le plus grand nombre se sauvant sur les montagnes, où *Cratérus* les a devancés, y recevoient la mort."\*

On the map which serves to illustrate my route from *Kazrín* to *Shúshter*, it may be observed that there is a narrow passage connecting the plains of *Halegún* and *Mál-Amír*, through which the river of *Sháh-Ruben* takes its course. It is the only approach to the latter plain from the S.W., the direction from which *Alexander* marched. I think this pass represents the *straits* (τα στενα, angustiae) mentioned in *Arrian* and *Quintus Curtius*, and which it was necessary for *Alexander* to secure before he could enter on the plain where the *Uxian* town stood. With the exception of this strait, *Mál-Amír* is encompassed by mountains; on the western face of which in a recess are the famous caves of *Shikoftehi-Suleimán*. These caverns are not at the foot but on the declivity of the hills, and the passage leading up narrows as it approaches them; or if we look from above, the ravine at the head of which the caves are situated appears to spread out like a fan till it is lost in the plain. The whole ravine is strewn over in every direction with stones, mortar, and clusters of ruined houses scattered among the rocks, crags, and projecting masses of stone. Stupendous rocks rise above the caves and this ruined town, and during the rainy season a cascade gushes down from the heights. The breadth of these hills from E. to W., or from the caves of *Shikoftehi-Suleimán* to the valley of *Sháh-Ruben*, which forms their western boundary, may be about ten miles, and it is over this tract of hilly country that *Tauron* had to march before he appeared above the heads of

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\* This passage occurs in the 17th chapter of the 3rd book of *Arrian's* *Αναβασις*. The original is as follows:—“*Ἀρας δὲ ἐκ Σούσαν, καὶ διαβας τὸν Πασιτίγῃρην ποταμὸν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν Οὐξίαν γῆν. . . . . Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σωματοφύλακας τοὺς βασιλικούς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, καὶ τῆς ἑλλης στρατιάς ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, τῆς νυκτος ἦει ἄλλην ἢ τὴν Φανεράν, ἡγησάμενων αὐτῶ τῶν Σουσίων καὶ διελθὼν ὁδὸν τραχείαν καὶ δύσπορον ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐμπίπτει ταῖς κόμαις τῶν Οὐξίων, καὶ λείαν τε πολλὴν ἔλαβε, καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτι ἐν ταῖς θυμαῖς ὄντων πολλοὺς κατέκτεινεν· οἳ δὲ ἀπέφυγον εἰς τὰ ὄρη· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦει σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ, ἵνα ἀπαντήσῃσθαι οἱ Οὐξιοὶ πανδημεὶ ἐδόκουν, ληψόμενοι τὰ τεταγμένα. Κρατερὸν δὲ ἔτι πρόσθεν ἀπέστειλε, τὰ ἄκρα καταληψόμενον, ἔνθα φέτο βιαζόμενους τοὺς Οὐξίους ἀποχωρῆσειν· αὐτὸς δὲ πολλὰ τάχει ἦει καὶ φθάσει τε κρατήσας τῶν παρόδων, καὶ συντεταγμένους τοὺς ἄμφ’ αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων χωρίων ἐπήγειν ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους. Οἳ δὲ τῷ τε τάχει τῷ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκπλαγύντες, καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις, οἷς μάλιστα δὴ ἐπεποίησαν, πλεονεκτοῦμενοι ἐφυγον, οὐδὲ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, κρημνῶδη οὖσαν· οἱ πλείστοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἀναφεύγοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐς τοὺς ἄμφι Κρατερὸν, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπόλονται.*”

the amazed inhabitants of the besieged town, who little expected to be attacked from that quarter.

Curtius, in stating further that a great number of the inhabitants escaped into *the fort*, proves that the town besieged at the hill was not the only fortified place in the neighbourhood.\* The expression likewise that *Alexander left the city untouched*, I think, cannot be applied to that which he had just captured—putting the inhabitants to flight, and to the sword. It was also from this fort that a deputation was sent to Alexander to implore quarter; and that messengers were dispatched to Sisygambis, beseeching her to intercede in favour of the inhabitants. Now we learn from Diodorus that this princess was left at Susa with the other female members of Darius's family;† so that the messengers had to travel there and back; and, allowing the utmost expedition, an answer could hardly have been received before the expiration of three or four days, the distance in a straight line being not less than 100 miles. What was Alexander about in the meanwhile? He was most probably recruiting his troops after the hot reception they had met from the Uxians, and preparing to lay siege to the fort, which must have been of some strength to require such preparation.

Now, in the middle of the plain, about 3 miles to the E. of the caves, rises an immense artificial mound, the dimensions of which are certainly not less imposing than those at Shus and Babylon. It is surrounded by broken and uneven ground; but a luxuriant carpet of green grass conceals its structure from the inquisitive eye. It affords, however, a strong argument in favour of the existence here in former times of a considerable fort; and corroborates my impression that Mál-Amír is the site of the Uxian town besieged by Alexander.

With regard to what Arrian says of Alexander's destroying the small villages and dispersing the inhabitants before he entered the strait, may relate to the plain of Halegún. I found some ruins not far distant from the pass which leads to Mál-Amír, which I at first was inclined to attribute to the Sasanian, or even a later period. Little stress can, however, be laid upon this circumstance, for the same stones may have been used by the Elamites, the Uxians, the Sasanians, the Arabs, and the Atabegs of Lur, as they succeeded each other. It serves only to show that these straits were formerly guarded, and explains the apparent neglect of Madates to secure them otherwise than by entrusting them to the inhabitants of the villages.

How far the facts here noticed may satisfy others as to the identity of the ruins in Mál-Amír with the Uxian city alluded to

\* To us the expression of the historian appears merely to imply that they took refuge in the citadel or acropolis, which seems not likely to be 3 miles distant (see sequel) from the town. But we have not presumed to change the text.—ED.

† See Diodore de Sicile, translated by Miot.

in the narratives of Alexander's expeditions I do not know, but on my mind they have left not the shadow of a doubt.

If the position of the town of the Uxii can be considered as established, it will serve as a collateral proof that the Pasitigris is no other than the Abi-Kuren, for this river never could be to the E. of this place; and the historians of Alexander do not mention his having passed any other considerable stream in his advance from the time he had crossed the Pasitigris on entering the territories of the Uxii. As there are remains of other ancient towns in the country of the Bakhtiyári, besides the ruins found at Mál-Amír, I have examined whether any of them could serve as a representative for the city of the Uxii. This examination has only tended to confirm me in my former opinion, that it can be represented by no other ruins than those close to the caves of Shikoftehi-Suleimán. The places I allude to are—Shushan, Manjaník, Kal'eh-Gebr, and Tashún. Shushan, although in the vicinity of the caves just adverted to, cannot have been the Uxian town in question, because, as it lies on the right bank of the Kuren in the mountains 4 farsangs to the N. of Mál-Amír, Alexander would have had to cross that river, or, in other words, to re-cross the upper course of the Pasitigris before he could reach that town, a circumstance of which his historians make no mention. Neither can Manjaník be regarded as the town of the Uxii, for it does not stand at the feet of any considerable hills; and, according to Arrian and Quintus Curtius, the city was overhung by precipices, from the top of which Tauron attacked the inhabitants, while Alexander pressed from below. The ruins of Kal'eh-Gebr, near the river Tezeng, are scattered partly on the plain, partly on a rising ground backed by a chain of mountains; but these mountains are so high and steep, that although means may perhaps exist to attain their summit from behind, the inhabitants of the besieged city could in no way have scaled them in front while trying to escape from Alexander. Moreover, the rising ground or bank which runs along the foot of the hills, and on which the ruins are scattered, could have presented no material obstacle to the advance of Alexander's soldiers.

I need scarcely allude to the town of Tashún, for, independently of its topographical situation not answering Curtius's description of the Uxian city, it may be seen, by reference to the map, that it is not far distant from the river Tab, which formed the boundary line between Susiana and Persis, at the prolongation of the Zagros chain—whilst we read in Curtius that Alexander, after leaving the Uxian town, required three marches to arrive at the frontiers of the latter province. My reasons for considering the Tab or Kurdistan river the ancient limit between Susiána and Persis must be reserved for another paper.

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